

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01

OMB-01 EB-11 RSR-01 /148 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0256

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2999

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2587

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: NAC DISCUSSION MAY 25

REF: USNATO 2506

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE COUNCIL HAD A LENGTHY AND PROFITABLE DISCUSSION OF THE KISSINGER SPEECH, WHICH PROVIDED SOME FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF ALLIED REACTIONS. MANY PERMREPS ARE STILL AWAITING OUTCOME OF CURRENT CONSULTATIONS AMONG EC-9 AND SPOKE ONLY ON A PERSONAL BASIS. ALTHOUGH THEY REITERATED OLD FAMILIAR OBSTACLES, MOST PERMREPS BELIEVED THAT EUROPE SHOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE KISSINGER SPEECH. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ARGUED THAT THE ALLIES NEEDED TO

ESTABLISH A NEW FRAMEWORK OF COMMON GOALS IF THEY WERE TO ENJOY THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN THE FUTURE THAT THEY HAD IN THE PAST. THE NAC WILL RETURN TO THIS SUBJECT ON MAY 30 IN ORDER TO DEVELOP VIEWS FURTHER FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS IN COPNEHAGEN. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER LUNS INTRODUCTED HIS PAPER (REFTEL), GREEK PERMREP
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CHORAFAS (UNINSTRUCTED) PROPOSED THAT THE ALLIES ESTABLISH A NEW " THREE WISE MEN' S" COMMITTEE. THE COUNCIL ITSELF, BECAUSE OF ITS SIZE, CAN DEAL BETTER WITH MORE CONCRETE QUESTIONS, WHILE A SMALLER GROUP WOULD HAVE THE FLEXIBILITY TO HANDLE THE BROADER ISSUES

INVOLVED IN THE KISSINGER SPEECH. CHORAFAS SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTICIPANTS NOT BE MINISTERS BUT BE DISTINGUISHED PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT NATO. THE SUGGESTION WAS THAT ONE COME FROM THE U. S., ONE FROM THE NINE, AND ONE FROM THE OTHER NATO COUNTRIES.

2. BRITISH AMBASSADOR PECK QUOTED SIR ALEC DOUGLAS- HOME AS SAYING THAT " IN MATTERS OF SECURITY, IT IS BETTER TO BE SLOW AND SECURE." IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE INSTANT ANSWERS TO LONG- TERM PROBLEMS.

3. PROTUGAL (NOGUEIRA) SUPPORTED IDEA OF A JOINT DECLARATION, BUT ASSUMED THAT NO AMENDMENT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IS INDICATED. TURKEY (ERALP) WANTED TO ENSURE THAT THIS WOULD NOT RESULT IN A DIALOGUE ONLY BETWEEN THE U. S. AND THE NINE, IN WHICH TURKEY COULD ONLY RUBBER STAMP AGREEMENTS REACHED ELSEWHERE. THE NINE CANNOT SPEAK FOR ALL OF EUROPE. ITALIAN PERMREP REASSURED ERALP THAT THE NINE DID NOT INTEND TO BRING THEIR VIEWS TO THE COUNCIL ONLY FOR RUBBER STAMPING.

4. BELGIUM (DE STAERCKE) MADE A PERSONAL STATEMENT CONTAINING SEVERAL CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS. PARRYING THE GREEK AMBASSADOR'S PROCEDURAL SUGGESTION, HE BELIEVED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD EXAMINE SUBSTANCE BEFORE METHOD; OTHERWISE THEY WOULD CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROCEDURE HAD SOLVED THE PROBLEM. THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS NOT JUST TO ESTABLISH PRINCIPLES BUT TO FIND A JOINT POLICY, TO IDENTIFY PROBLEMS AND WAY TO RESOLVE THEM. THEY HAD TO CONSIDER BOTH SHORT TERM QUESTIONS, SUCH AS PREPARATIONS FOR THE COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL AND NATO STUDIES ON SPECIFIC ALLIANCE ISSUES, BUT ALSO THE BORADER LONG TERM PROBLEMS RELATIVE TO THE ENTIRETY OF U. S.- EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS.

5. AMBASSADOR SPIERENBURG SAID THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH NEW DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL, WHO FAVORS THE PREPARATION OF A DECLARATION. BUT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN A DECLARATION AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS. THERE WERE MANY PROBLEMS WHICH NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED, SUCH AS SPECIALIZATION OF ROLES IN DEFENSE, MONETARY ISSUES, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, CONFLICTS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, ETC. ON A STRICTLY PERSONAL BASIS, SPIERENBURG ALSO EXPRESSED A NOTE OF CAUTION THAT THE U. S. SHOULD NOT ASK FOR TOO MUCH IN THE DECLARATION SINCE IT MIGHT NOT LIKE WHAT IT GETS IN RETURN, IN LIGHT OF GROWING ANTI-PATHY TOWARDS NATO, NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, ETC. HE HOPED FOR A FEDERATED EUROPE, BUT SAW THIS AS A DISTANT PROSPECT AND BELIEVED THAT THE NAC HAD TO REMAIN AS THE FOCAL POINT FOR BOTH DEFENSE AND POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.

6. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD SAW THE KISSINGER SPEECH AS AN

INVITATION TO A DIALOGUE. THIS DIALOGUE IS ALREADY TAKING PLACE, NOT ONLY IN THE COUNCIL BUT ELSEWHERE; THE AMBASSADOR HIMSELF HAS HAD 40-50 VISITS ON THIS SPEECH SINCE IT WAS DELIVERED. THERE WERE SERIOUS PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE ALLIES WHICH NEEDED TO BE DISCUSSED AND THOUGHT ABOUT, AND IT WAS BEST TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF SHARED GOALS RATHER THAN IN A VACUUM. ONE CRUCIAL QUESTION TO ASK IS WHAT IS THE NEED FOR SUCH A COMMON FRAMEWORK. SOME EUROPEANS HAVE COMMENTED TO HIM THAT THE SUCCESS OF NATO HAS BEEN PROVEN BY 25 YEARS OF SECURITY AND THROUGH THE WEST'S ABILITY TO CONDUCT SUCESSFUL DETENTE NEGOTIATIONS, SO WHY IS THERE A NEED TO CHANGE.

7. RUMSFELD CONTINUED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE NEED WAS TO INSURE SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE FUTURE. THINGS WERE NOT THE SAME AS THEY WERE 20 YEARS AGO: THERE HAD BEEN MAJOR CHANGES IN THE STRATEGIC, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SITUATION, AND A WHOLE NEW GENERATION WAS EMERGING. THE CHANCES FOR ESTABLISHING THE BASIS FOR FUTURE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY LIE IN OUR ABILITY AT A POLITICAL LEVEL TO IDENTIFY COMMON GOALS. WHEN THIS IS DONE, THEN SPECIFIC PROBLEMS CAN BE RESOLVED IN THE APPROPRIATE CHANNELS. SUCH DEFINITION OF COMMON PURPOSES CAN PROVIDE AN UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH SPECIFIC PROBLEMS CAN BE RESOLVED WITH THE LEAST DAMAGE TO THE ALLIES' LONG- TERM COMMUNITY OF INTEREST. IN DEFINING THESE BROAD PURPOSES, ONE QUESTION THE ALLIES MUST ADDRESS IS HOW TO PROCEED ACTIVELY TO REDUCE EAST- WEST TENSIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVE THE COHESION AND DEFENSIVE MILITARY STRENGTH WHICH

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MAKES THESE EFFORTS POSSIBLE. THIS EFFORT MAY INVOLVE ACTIVITY BY GOVERNMENTS NOT ONLY IN INTERGOVERNMENTAL CHANNELS, BUT ALSO IN A PROCESS OF " DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION" WITH THE BROADER PUBLIC.

FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE SAID THAT HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS AS YET, BUT HE WAS WILLING TO GIVE PERSONAL VIEW. IN LISTENING TO AMB. RUMSFELD HE WAS STRUCK BY THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROPOSAL AND CONCERNED THAT THE RESULTS MIGHT BE DISAPPOINTING TO THE U. S. OBVIOUS THAT THINGS HAVE CHANGED, BUT IF WE TAKE A LOFTY ENOUGH VIEW WE WILL STILL RECOGNIZE WHAT UNITES US -- LIKE A MARRIAGE, FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE. WE SHOULD NOT THINK THAT WE ARE GOING TO FIND A " MAGIC FORMULA" TO RESOLVE ALL OUR DIFFERENCES.

LUNS CONCLUDED THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD MEET AGAIN ON MAY 30 TO DISCUSS WAYS OF PRESENTING THIS QUESTION TO FOREIGN MINISTERS.
RUMSFELD

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